

INTRODUCTION

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Though we know from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (544/1150–606/1210) that his father ʿIyāʾ al-Dīn was a scholar of some note in his time, he remained a tantalisingly obscure figure who was afforded only minor attention by his son and a very small number of later biographers.¹ The discovery, and now publication in facsimile, of an extant copy of one half of his theological *magnum opus* brings this key figure to light and much enriches our knowledge of the author's milieu and our pool of classical Ashʿarī sources, particularly from the first half of the sixth/twelfth century. This manuscript copy comprises the second volume of al-Makkī's major two-volume theological summa entitled *Nihāyat al-marām fī dirāyat al-kalām*, his most important book,

¹ The only biographer, as far as I am aware, to give him a dedicated, though brief, entry with original material is Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, who had access to al-Makkī's *Nihāyat al-marām* (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulw and Maḥmūd al-Ṭanāḥī, 10 vols. [Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʾIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1964–1976], 8, 81). Al-Subkī's entry is largely reproduced by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm Khān, 2 vols. [Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1979], 2, 15–16). The seventh/thirteenth-century Ashʿarī Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Lablī (d. 691/1292), an Andalusian who travelled in Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz before settling in Tunis, was keen to write a biographical entry on al-Makkī, but admitted that he had no information on him (*Fihrist al-Lablī*, ed. Yāsīn Y. ʿAyyāsh and ʿAwwād ʿA. Abū Zayna [Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988], 129). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa includes a short paragraph on al-Makkī in his lengthy biographical entry on his son Fakhr al-Dīn, providing details related to him by a certain Najm al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Isfīzārī (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Nizār Riḍā [Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1966], 465). Our author should not be confused with his contemporary namesake, the Muʿtazilī scholar ʿIyāʾ al-Dīn al-Muwaffaq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Khwārazmī (d. 568/1172), also known as the Preacher of Khwārazm (*al-Khaṭīb al-Khwārazmī*), a student of al-Zamakhsharī.

which hitherto has been presumed lost.² The manuscript text is all the more valuable as it is the author's own autograph copy and is appended with an audition certificate (*qirā'a*) in his hand. In what follows, I introduce the author, the text and the manuscript copy.

Al-Imām Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Umar ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī is also referred to, especially in later sources, but occasionally by his son Fakhr al-Dīn,³ as Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Rāzī (a *nisba* to the city of Rayy). In one place, Fakhr al-Dīn gives him the honorific *kunya* Abū Ḥafṣ,⁴ often associated with the first name 'Umar.⁵

The author is given the dual *nisba*, al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, on the title page of the autograph copy of the *Nihāya*. The latter *nisba*, al-Makkī, is also used both by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn himself in signing the audition certificate, and by his son Fakhr al-Dīn,⁶ while the former *nisba*, al-Ṭabaristānī (= al-Ṭabarī), is given to Fakhr al-Dīn in numerous biographical sources. The family's connection with Mecca is confirmed

² See, for instance, Muḥammad Ṣ. al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī wa-ārā'uh al-kalāmiyya wa-l-falsafiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1963), 17; and Frank Griffel, 'On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Life and the Patronage He Received', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18 (2007), 313–44, at 318.

³ Al-Rāzī, *Tahṣīl al-ḥaqq*, in *Chahārda risāle*, ed. Sayyid M. B. Sabzavārī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, 1340 AH), 51–78, at 52. Idem., *Manāqib al-Imām al-Shāfi'i*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥ. al-Saqqā (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, 1986), 43.

⁴ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa fī āra' ahl al-'ilm*, ed. As'ad Jum'a (Tunis: Markaz al-Nashr al-Jāmi'i, 2004), 184.

⁵ See, for instance, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, 2 vols. (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Uthmāniyya, 1322 AH), 1, 151–3.

⁶ Al-Rāzī, *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa*, 184. 'Al-Makkī', hence, is the *nisba* that Ḍiyā' al-Dīn himself used and that he was known by among his contemporaries. He would not have been called 'al-Rāzī' in Rayy itself, where obviously all the city's inhabitants would be Rāzīs, nor is he likely to have been called 'al-Rāzī' outside Rayy considering that his reputation during his lifetime did not extend much beyond the surrounding regions. When he gained posthumous fame as the father of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, he came to be known as 'al-Rāzī' by association with both his city and son.

by Ibn al-Sha‘ār al-Mawṣilī (d. 654/1256), one of the earliest biographers of Fakhr al-Dīn, who writes that his great grandfather al-Ḥasan (who, in my assessment, may have lived in the first half of the fifth/eleventh century) was born in Mecca, was a rich merchant there, and reportedly ‘lived in the holy Ka‘ba for forty years’.⁷ Though Fakhr al-Dīn claimed descent from the first caliph Abū Bakr,⁸ and is frequently referred to by biographers as a Qurashī, a descendent of the Prophet’s tribe of Quraysh, it is unclear whether he believed that his ancestry had an uninterrupted Hījāzī provenance since the rise of Islam. Either al-Ḥasan or his son al-Ḥusayn apparently then moved from Mecca to Ṭabaristān (the region of the southern shore of the Caspian Sea), and from there the family went on, at some point, to settle in the nearby city of Rayy.

Apart from the names of two of his teachers, we know nothing else about Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn’s early life and career. He studied kalām, as he tells us,⁹ with Abū l-Qāsim Salmān al-Anṣārī, the chief Ash‘arī authority in the eastern parts of the Muslim world following the death of al-Juwaynī in 478/1085, to whom al-Makkī refers as ‘our shaykh the imām’. With the same teacher, he most probably also studied Qur’ānic exegesis, the other discipline for which al-Anṣārī was renowned. A Qur’ānic commentary of al-Anṣārī, entitled the *Taqrīb*, is cited on ff. 87b and 295b.¹⁰ Al-Makkī’s study with al-Anṣārī almost

⁷ Al-Mubārak ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Sha‘ār al-Mawṣilī, *Qalā'id al-jumān fī farā'id shu'arā' hādhā al-zamān*, 9 vols. [facsimile of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 2327] (Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Sciences, 1990), 6, 107.

⁸ For instance, Ibn al-Sha‘ār, *Qalā'id al-jumān*, 6, 107; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8, 81; Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Sven Dederling et al., 29 vols. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1931–2004), 4, 248. However, Fakhr al-Dīn’s contemporary poet Ibn ‘Anīn praises him as having a ‘Umarī, Meccan genealogy (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *Uyūn al-anbā'*, 464), which hints that he was descended from ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

⁹ *Nihāya*, f. 384a–b.

¹⁰ I am not aware of any other references to this title. No manuscript copies ap-

certainly took place in Nishapur, probably at the Nizāmiyya school, at which al-Anṣārī worked as a librarian and taught before he died in 512/1118. In *Tahṣīl al-ḥaqq*, Fakhr al-Dīn gives a theological scholarly chain (*silsila*) connecting him, via his father and al-Anṣārī, to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī, and a juristic scholarly chain connecting him, again via his father, to al-Shāfi‘ī.¹¹ The latter chain indicates that Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn studied Shāfi‘ī jurisprudence with al-Ḥusayn ibn Mas‘ūd al-Farra’ al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), most probably in Marw al-Rūdh in Khurasan, where the latter was based, taught and died.¹²

In some places in his major *Tafsīr*, Fakhr al-Dīn cites statements – introduced by, ‘I heard’ (*sami‘tu*), or the past continuous, ‘*kāna yaqūlu*’ – of a pietistic and ethico-spiritual nature, which he heard his father make. These show that al-Makkī was influenced, via his teacher Abū l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī, by the Sufism of Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), with whom al-Anṣārī studied before he became a student of al-Juwaynī. One such statement is introduced by, ‘I heard my father, the ascetic (*zāhid*) shaykh and imām’.¹³ In one place, Fakhr al-Dīn relates, on the authority of his father and al-Anṣārī, a brief

pear to be extant. None are listed in *al-Fihris al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-‘arabī al-islāmī al-makhṭūṭ*: ‘*Ulūm al-Qur’ān: Makhṭūṭāt al-tafsīr wa-‘ulūmih*, 2 vols. (Amman: Mu‘assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1989). Another figure who tells us that he studied both *kalām* and *tafsīr* with al-Anṣārī is al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153). See his *Nihāyat al-aqdām fī ‘ilm al-kalām*, ed. Alfred Guillaume (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 38; and his Qur’ānic commentary, *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa-maṣābīḥ al-abrār*, ed. Muḥammad ‘A. Ādharshab, 2 vols. (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 2008), 1, 5. On the editorial error in this last work that suggests, wrongly, that al-Anṣārī’s *tafsīr* was of an Ismā‘īlī character, see my review of Toby Mayer’s translation in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 21 (2010), 194–6.

¹¹ Al-Rāzī, *Tahṣīl al-ḥaqq*, 52–4. Also cited in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān wa-anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1994), 4, 252. In his Qur’ānic commentary, Fakhr al-Dīn also cites al-Makkī relating statements made by al-Anṣārī (*al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 32 vols. [Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1981], 13, 211–12; 20, 147), and by al-Juwaynī on the authority of al-Anṣārī (*al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 13, 44; 19, 17–18).

¹² On al-Baghawī, see, for instance, al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7, 75–80.

¹³ Al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 13, 129; cf. 17, 190–1; 26, 247; 27, 48.

encounter between al-Qushayrī and Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Khayr (d. 440/1049), an earlier Sufi shaykh of al-Anṣārī.¹⁴

Al-Makkī, at some point, became the preacher at the main mosque in Rayy – whence the title *Sharaf al-Khuṭabāʾ* given to him on the title page of the manuscript copy of the *Nihāya*, which was copied in this city – and he reportedly delivered sermons that were so eloquent and powerful that he gained a considerable reputation in his region.¹⁵ This prominence was such that Fakhr al-Dīn was often known simply as ‘the Son of the Preacher’ (*Ibn al-Khaṭīb*), or less frequently ‘the Son of the Preacher of Rayy’ (*Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy*), a relatively humble designation that stayed with him even after he became one of the great intellectual giants of medieval Islam. Ibn al-Shaʿār, however, seems to suggest that the ‘preacher’ referred to in this appellation is not Fakhr al-Dīn’s father, but his grandfather. After giving Fakhr al-Dīn’s full name, he adds, ‘... known as the “Son of the Preacher of Rayy”; his grandfather, al-Ḥusayn, was the preacher of Rayy’ – note the emphasis intended in naming the grandfather.¹⁶ As there can be no doubt that Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn was the preacher at the main mosque of Rayy, we are left to wonder whether he inherited this position from his father, or whether Ibn al-Shaʿār may simply be confused between father and son.

It is also reported that al-Makkī engaged in teaching at Rayy.¹⁷ Al-Rāzī in one place describes both his own students and his father’s students as defenders of Sunnism and critics of ‘innovations’, implying that there were some who treated al-Makkī as one of their prin-

¹⁴ Al-Rāzī, *al-Taḥṣīn al-kabīr*, 1, 108.

¹⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 465; cf. ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226), *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Allāh al-ʿUṭāridī, 4 vols. (Hyderabad: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAzīziyya, 1984), 1, 477.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Shaʿār, *Qalāʾid al-jumān*, 6, 107.

¹⁷ Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 465.

cial teachers.¹⁸ Fakhr al-Dīn himself, of course, began his study of theology (*al-uṣūl*) and Shāfiʿī jurisprudence (*al-madhhab*) with his father,¹⁹ whom in some works he cites respectfully, often as ‘my father the felicitous imām’ (*al-imām al-saʿīd wālidi*). I have collected below the citations I was able to find in Fakhr al-Dīn’s available works (see the Arabic introduction to the present volume, pp. 65–74). Fakhr al-Dīn proudly points out his indebtedness to his father in several places, such as this:

My father and shaykh, the imām Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Makkī. He is the one from whose two oceans²⁰ I drank, with whose lights I was guided, and from whose knowledge I benefited. As well as being my father by birth, may God’s mercy be upon him, he was equally my father in learning (*ifāda*). May God reward him and all the imāms of Islam well.²¹

Al-Makkī had an older son, Rukn al-Dīn, a third-rate scholar who reportedly was vociferously jealous of his younger, hugely successful brother.²² He too most likely studied with his father.

We have concrete evidence in the audition certificate appended to the *Nihāya* that al-Makkī was alive in the year 550/1155–56. His death date is given by Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī (d. 1339/1920), a much later source, as 559/1163–64.²³ Though I have not found this date in any earlier source, we can presume that al-Baghdādī extracted it from one of the sources he used to compile his bio-bibliographic

¹⁸ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *ʾItiqādāt fraq al-muslimīn wa-l-mushrikīn*, ed. ʿAlī S. al-Nashshār (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1938), 92–93.

¹⁹ Al-Rāzī, *Tahṣīl al-ḥaqq*, 52–4; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 4, 252.

²⁰ Probably, knowledge and spirituality.

²¹ Al-Rāzī, *al-Riyād al-mūniqa*, 184.

²² Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 465.

²³ Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn: Asmāʾ al-muʿallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Wikālat al-Maʿārif, 1951–1955), I, 784.

book, in most cases without exact referencing.²⁴ A death date of 559/1163–64 is indeed entirely plausible, as it would make Fakhr al-Dīn 14–15 years old when his father died, which concurs with biographical accounts that he began his advanced studies with his father, but went on, following al-Makkī's death, to complete them with other teachers. Al-Makkī apparently died in Rayy.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a reports that al-Makkī wrote several works on theology, the theory of jurisprudence (both disciplines referred to shorthand as *al-uṣūl*), religious exhortation (*wa'z*) and other subjects.²⁵ According to Fakhr al-Dīn, his father wrote 'long books' on the impeccability of the prophets.²⁶ Elsewhere, he cites an unidentified work in which al-Makkī lists the main teachers and students of al-Shāfi'ī.²⁷ Al-Makkī does not refer to any works of his in the extant part of the *Nihāya*.

His most important work, however, must be the major two-volume summa of Ash'arī theology entitled *Nihāyat al-marām fī dirāyat al-kalām*, one of the longest known works of classical Ash'arism.²⁸

²⁴ These references are listed at the very beginning of al-Badghādī's work (no page number), and some remain unpublished.

²⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā'*, 465.

²⁶ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Ishāra fī 'ilm al-kalām*, ed. Muḥammad al-Āyidī and Rabī' al-Āyidī (Amman: Markaz Nūr al-'Ulūm, 2007), 328.

²⁷ Al-Rāzī, *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī*, 43–44; 48.

²⁸ Apart from the copy of the second volume of the *Nihāya*, published here, there may be a short fragment from the first volume of the work included (ff. 189b–191b) in a manuscript following an anonymous commentary on Ibn Mattawayh's *Kitāb al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-a'rād*, a Bahshamī text (published as *An Anonymous Commentary on Kitāb al-Tadhkira by Ibn Mattawayh: Facsimile Edition of Mahdavi Codex 514 (6th/12th Century)*, intro. Sabine Schmidtke [Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy; Berlin: Institute of Islamic Studies, Free University of Berlin, 2006]). The fragment, extracted from a discussion of accidents and the Mu'tazilī doctrine of non-existent things in an Ash'arī text, was transcribed in, or shortly after, 570/1175, the date in which the copy of *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira* was completed. The copyist introduces it by, 'I transcribed this from *Kitāb al-Nihāya fī l-kalām*', without mention of the author. I understand that Dr Hasan Ansari, who too has arrived at the conclusion

The book is cited, infrequently, by Fakhr al-Dīn, though, to my knowledge, nowhere by name.²⁹ It also receives ardent praise by the champion of Ashʿarism and Shāfiʿism, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1369), who writes in his short biographical entry on al-Makkī:

He was one of the imāms of Islam, and highly accomplished in the discipline of *kalām*, on which he wrote a two-volume book entitled *Ghāyat al-marām*. I have seen this book, and have found it to be one of the finest and most carefully erudite books of the Followers of the Sunna. At the end of it, he included a fine section on the virtues of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, may God be pleased with him, and his followers.³⁰

Al-Subkī cites *Nihāyat al-marām* in a further four places in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*.³¹ In all five places, al-Subkī refers to the work by the title *Ghāyat*, rather than *Nihāyat*, *al-marām*, a discrepancy which must be due to a scribal or editorial mistranscription (considering that the shape of the *nūn-hāʾ* can be close to the *ghayn* in some hands), or to an error on al-Subkī's part. The title *Ghāyat al-marām* is also given by Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, who most probably reproduced it from al-Subkī.

The *Nihāya* draws closely on al-Juwaynī's *Irshād* and al-Anṣārī's *al-Ghunya fī l-kalām*, neither of which work is cited anywhere by name.³² There are also frequent citations of al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), several works of whose are referred to in some places, Abū l-Ḥasan

that this is a fragment from al-Makkī's work, intends to examine it in detail.

²⁹ For instance, al-Rāzī, *al-Ishāra*, 281, which corresponds to al-Makkī, *Nihāya*, f. 204a–b.

³⁰ Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7, 242.

³¹ Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2, 118; 2, 300; 3, 22; 3, 159. The second of these citations is reproduced by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (*Lisān al-mīzān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, 10 vols. [Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyya, 2002], 4, 486).

³² I will examine al-Makkī's theological influences more closely in a forthcoming study on post-Juwaynīan Ashʿarism. The only known manuscript copy of al-Anṣārī's *al-Ghunya fī l-kalām* is MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmet III, 1916.

al-Ash‘arī (d. 324/935) and Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā‘īnī (d. 418/1027), particularly his *Mukhtaṣar* and *al-Asmā’ wa-l-ṣifāt*, as well as occasional citations of Ibn Fūrak’s (d. 406/1015) *Sharḥ al-Luma’* and Abū l-Qāsim al-Isfarā‘īnī al-Iskāf (d. 452/1060). Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) is nowhere cited by name; and the only citation of a Ghazālīan work appears in the discussion of ethical value (f. 90a ff.), where a passage from the *Mustaṣfā*, a work on legal theory, is reproduced.³³

The main subjects covered in the extant half of the *Nihāya* are human action and capacity, anthropology, ethics, repentance, belief, eschatology, prophecy, the imāmate and the Prophet’s companions. The end of the book is furnished with a concluding section (ff. 374b–384b) ‘on the virtues of the Ash‘arīs’, which is cited in four places by al-Subkī. Most of this section (ff. 374b–383a) is dedicated to the school-founder Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī, before a brief genealogy of the *mutakallimūn* of the Sunnis (*ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn min ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a*), borrowed mostly from ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī’s (d. 429/1037) *Uṣūl al-dīn*, is provided.³⁴ This begins with ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and continues until al-Makkī’s teacher, Abū l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī.

The manuscript copy of the second volume of *Nihāyat al-marām*, published here in facsimile, was housed at the Āṣafiyya Library in Hyderabad, India, before it was incorporated into the Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Library.³⁵ MS *Kalām* 13 comprises ii+385+i fo-

³³ Cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā min ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Ḥamza ibn Z. Ḥāfiẓ. 4 vols. (Medina: n.p., n.d.), 1, 177 ff.

³⁴ Cf. Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul: Madrasat al-Ilāhiyyāt bi-Dār al-Funūn al-Turkiyya, 1928), 307–10.

³⁵ On both libraries, see Omar Khalidi, ‘A Guide to Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu Manuscript Libraries in India’, *Middle East Librarians Association Notes* 75–76 (Fall 2002–Spring 2003), 1–59, at 8–10. The manuscript is listed in: A. al-Ma’mūn Suhrawardī, ‘Notes on Important Arabic and Persian MSS. Found in Various Libraries in India – I’, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 13 (1917), 77–139, at 101; *Tadhkirat al-nawādir mina l-makḥūṭāt al-‘arabiyya* (Hyderabad:

lios³⁶ (25.6×19.3 cm²; 21 lines per page), of oriental paper with laid lines. The quires comprise 5 bifolios each, and are numbered using ordinal numbers provided on the top left corner of the recto side of the first folio of each quire. The number is followed by the letter *bā* to indicate that the quire belongs to the second volume. Folio 10a bears *al-thānī bā*, which indicates that the first quire contains only nine folios, and suggests that the first folio of the first quire, most probably a blank flyleaf, is missing. Folio 20a bears *al-thālith bā*, f. 30a *al-rābi‘ bā*, and so forth. Folios 341–83 (totalling four quires, starting from the 35th quire, and 3 folios) are misplaced and bound following f. 7. As a result, the Arabic foliation pencilled onto the pages is incorrect and should be ignored. In the present facsimile edition, the arrangement of the folios has been corrected, and an alternative foliation is provided.

The codex is leather-bound and in a generally fine condition, and some folios have undergone restoration. The inside of the front cover bears a label belonging to the Āṣafiyya Library dated 1321 (1903–4); and the codex bears various stamps for both the Āṣafiyya and the APOM Libraries, especially on the first and last few folios.

The text is transcribed in black ink in a very elegant *naskh* script by a professional scribe. Headings are written in a larger script. According to the colophon (f. 384b), the copy was completed in the city of Rayy on 5 Ramaḍān 550 (2 November 1155) by a certain Maḥmūd ibn ‘Abd al-Salām ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Kirmānī:

Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1350 AH), 66–67; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Supplementbande*, 3 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937–1942), 1, 763. None of these bibliographic publications identify the author as Fakhr al-Dīn’s father. The first publication, by Suhrawardy, considered the manuscript important because it was an autograph copy. The copy has remained neglected, and is not mentioned in any other sources.

³⁶ Including a smaller leaf pasted following f. 237, to be described below.

وفرى من كتبه محمود بن عبد السلم
 بن عبد الرحيم الكرماني المقيم بالري
 في الخامس من شهر الله المبارك رمضان
 سنة خمسين وخمس مائه هـ

The copy appears to have been made for the author on the basis of an earlier draft, and was corrected and amended partly in the hand of the author himself.³⁷ These amendments appear mostly in the margins in a more curvilinear elegant scholar's *naskh* tending towards *thuluth*. Some places in the main text are crossed out by the author. A small leaf, the recto side of which contains a short *mas'ala* added in the hand of the author, is pasted following f. 237. Some marginal additions to the text are made in a different hand (e.g. ff. 3b, 188b, 194a, 254b, 351a, 352a).

Folio 1a contains the title and author's name, followed by 'may God extend his life', in the copyist's hand:

نهاية المرام في دراية الكلام
 صنفه الشيخ الامام الاجل الزاهد ضيا الدين
 شمس الاسلام شرف الخطبا أبو القسم عمر بن الحسين
 بن الحسن الطبري المكي طول الله عمره هـ

The page furthermore contains three ownership notes that, due to the restoration, are only partly legible. Two notes belong to the same person and indicate that the codex was bought by a certain 'Abdallāh ibn ... ibn Ismā'īl in 1235 (1819–20). The name in the third note is

³⁷ Confirming this is that the marginal note on f. 87b refers to 'our shaykh the imām', that is, al-Anṣārī.

illegible except for ‘ibn al-Shaykh Ḥusayn’. The page also contains a fourth, defaced ownership note and two seals, which are currently illegible. These notes and seals provide no substantial clues concerning the history of the manuscript that would allow us to trace its provenance before it reached Hyderabad.

At the end of the codex (f. 385a–b) an audition certificate (*qirāʿa*) written in the hand of al-Makkī, and dated 550/1155–56, is included. The following are the substantive parts:

قرا على هذا الكتاب [...] من فاتحته السنيه الى خاتمه الهنيئ الشيخ الامام الجليل
البارع برهان الدين لسان الاسلام ناصر السنه قانع البدعه عبد العزيز بن ابي النجيب
بن بندار القلانسي حيّاه الله بالاكرام واحياه بين الكرام في دار السلام قراه درايه
عن تروّ وهدايه فلم يدع فيه مشكله الا ازالها ولا معضله الا ازاحها ولا شريده الا
حاز بها وتلقاها ولا فريده الا فاز بها [...] وذلك سنه خمسين وخمس مايه كتبه عمر
بن الحسين بن الحسن المكي حامدا ومصليا

The book, hence, was read and commented on in the presence of the author by a certain Burhān al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abī l-Najīb ibn Bindār al-Qalānisī. This figure is most probably responsible for the aforementioned marginal additions that are not in the author’s hand, which include several citations of ḥadīths recorded in Abū l-Maḥāsīn al-Rūyānī’s (Ṭabaristān, d. 502/1108) *Amālī*, a source that is nowhere cited in al-Makkī’s work. It is not clear whether his oral comments may have also resulted in some of the additions and corrections made in al-Makkī’s hand. Though I have found no information on al-Qalānisī, he is most probably related to Abū l-‘Izz Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Bindār al-Qalānisī (d. 521/1127), an expert on Qur’ānic

readings from the Iraqi city of Wāsiṭ.³⁸ It is not unlikely that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz is the son of Abū l-‘Izz.

³⁸ On him, see, for instance, al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6, 97–98.